244 3. undĭndŏle III: leafstalks bluish, underside of leaf along each side of the ribs has dark green lichenous excrescences.

Taro is planted twice, in the long and short rainy seasons, and it is harvested twice, in the following long and short dry seasons. All the tubers are removed from the soil, and the farm is thus harvested completely. If any tubers are forgotten, they are picked up during the next dry season, but that is the end; there are never more than two harvests from the same sowing. A piece of land once used for taro is never cultivated a second time since enough swampy soil [789] is available. There are no medicines to promote the growth of taro.

The tubers and young leaves are eaten as vegetables. Furthermore, the Pangwe are familiar with the fact that insufficiently boiled tubers cause "metĭáñ," that is, itching in the neck, and so forth. The tubers are also used as medicine for blood tumors (mvĭ'm); the [757 278] resin-like secretion of the Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl., Burseraceae (asĕ̄), is placed on the swelling, and over this is smeared a salve made from the parings of raw taro tubers. This is supposed to make the diseased areas become "ntĕ̄gan," that is, weak or soft.

Plantain

• 245 The shoots of the plantain, as well as of the banana which is cultivated alongside it, are planted around the village or on farms. They thrive without care and ripen during each season of the year. The plantain (1) or Negro banana, Musa paradisiaca L. (ekō̄n),

1. The /German/ word Plante is derived from "plantain" which in turn comes from the Spanish plátano, "banana." Since the plantain is very different from the true banana, I consider the retention of the word "plantain" useful. The French call it banane-cochon.

Figure 56, which in the Pangwe region has 25 different varieties, does not, to be sure, attain the luxuriance of the banana which grows like a weed. Nevertheless, it is very productive, just the plant for a Negro.

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Fig. 56. Plantains (Negro Bananas) and Bananas near Nsâlang (Esŝuong Family)

[G4] Riddle: mŏnĕnga e ne m' okŏ, a wŏ́le
woman she is to me there, she many

ŏĕ́ bə̀n, kaa nŭm
gives birth to children, no (without) man.

Answer: ekŏ́n = plantain.

That is precisely the ideal: reward without labor, fruit without effort, food which without the work of hands grows into one's mouth. In this sense the plantain, like its sister, the banana, is really the most deserving of all the cultivated plants of the name "paradisiaca." Of the banana, Musa paradisiaca var. sapientum L., there are two species: the bush-banana (adzŭ̀t, adzŭ̀t-ekŏ́n); and the noble banana (etə̀t, etə̀t-ekŏ́n). As is apparent from /103/ /Fig. 56 appears here in the original text/ the name, even among the Pangwe the banana is regarded as a variety of plantain. The noble banana, the one we know, was introduced from the coast, according to the Pangwe. At first it was called madzŭ̀t

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mentăngan, "bananas of the Whites." Later it was given the name etăt, from the stem a tăt, "to moan." "One" ate too much of it; "one" could not digest so much; "one" became weak; "one" could not catch anything during the hunt, which among the Pangwe is always the chief source of worry, and so forth.

I can only give a brief account at this point of the less important vegetables. The sweet potato, Ipomoea batatas L. (dŭgŭ III), is not cultivated; it thrives like a weed in the vicinity of the villages and chokes out every other weed, so that one can speak of miniature potato fields. It is not a very popular food. Other vegetables are sown and planted either in the vicinity of the houses or on the farms. Of these vegetables we should name first Cucurbita maxima Duch. (abŏk), which belongs to the Cucurbitaceae family and of which there are four varieties. The flesh of the fruit is eaten, as is the interior of the seeds, and small unripe fruit is also added whole to the groundnut bundle. Its young leaves are cut into small pieces and eaten as vegetables. The skin of the fruit cannot be removed, otherwise one would be wounded in battle. The men must avoid the seeds if they do not want to lose their virility the /104/ following night; hence it is regarded as tactless if the women serve the fruit with the seeds to the men at mealtime.

Of the Malvaceae and the Tiliaceae, Hibiscus and Corchorus (tĕgĕ III - fruit, etĕ'tăm) are planted. The name is derived from a tĕk, "weak," for the leaves are cooked in a short time on the fire; the fruit is called etĕ'tam from a tĕbĕ etăm, "to stand alone," for they stand alone at the tip of the stalk when the leaves are withered or have been picked off. Both fruit and leaves are eaten. The following varieties are distinguished: Hibiscus manihot Roxb. (nis tĕgĕ - true hibiscus); and the Tiliaceae Corchorus olitorius L. (ngbĕbelĕ'mo IV). The name esăb includes three plants of different families, namely, Hibiscus sabdariffa L. (engă'ne-esăb), the Polygonacea Rumex abessynicus Jacq. (ebĕbĕ'dĕ-es), and the Melastomacea Dissotis decumbens (P.B.) Trian. (esĕbĕ-bengă'n-b'ŭyek).

All these plants are sown, and their leaves are eaten.

Other cultivated plants are the following.

222 262 tomentella C. Chr., Dryopteris megaphylla (Met.) C. Chr. (mejâ m'abŏk), Dryopteris parasitica (L.) O. Ktz. (undŭndu akō), Dryopteris gongylodes (Kuhn) O. Ktz. (engâ). Stenochlaena guineensis (Kuhn) (nkâdenĭ III), Alsophila camerunensis Diels (ezĭzŏn-olŏ), and Diplazium silvaticum (Borg.) Sw. (esĕt).

345 262 Fruits are cultivated very little. In this category the banana is the only native of any antiquity. The following have been recently introduced: the pineapple (nkōkajā'n I Fang, ekaiemyĭ Ntum) (1), which is scattered over the entire territory

1. nkŏk = sugar, ajăn = Liliaceae, Cyperaceae; ekăn sedge (from the Mwele), because of the leaves which are similar to those of the Cyperaceae.

although planted only in small numbers; the papaya Carica papaya (pĭpĭ Jaunde, adĭbenkĭgan Ntum, Fang) (2), which has scarcely

2. adĭkŏ = Mimusops djave (Lan.) Engl.; e ntŏngŏn = of the Whites.

passed beyond a narrow coastal strip and whose little trees can be counted; small, bitter lemons, Citrus /146/ limonum Risso (olŏ Fang, alŏ Ntum, ngŏembŏ IV); and oranges that are almost inedible for Europeans.

Coconut palms (mbâ I, ayĭ mō I, Ntum, Fang; myĭndĭ IV Jaunde) are to be found only along the coast and even there only in small numbers.

The native "bush plum," Pachylobus edulis E. Don., var. mubafo Engl., Burseracea (asĭ Ntum, ofĭ Fang), which is found only in or near villages, may be cultivated. The attractive lilac-
[283] blue or beautiful rose-colored fruits are roasted on the fire, and the yellow, quite tasty meat of the fruit is eaten warm.

222 262 All the other fruits eaten by the Pangwe grow wild. Related to the bush plum in shape and in the taste of its fruit is Pachylobus fraxinifolius Engl. (asĭ, fruit, ofĭ IV); the fruit is prepared in the

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and furthermore the varieties the Pangwe call abắń, andĭ̀m, undĭ̀m, and ngus.

/Fig. 159 appears here in the original text./ The most widespread varieties are Ficus globicarpa, stellulata, preussii and laurentii, barteri, abắń, and andĭ̀m. The best cloth -- it is almost pure white -- is provided by Ficus globicarpa Warb. (embiŏ́n) which in former times was planted near the villages. This tree is preferred by the women, who "attach more importance to clothing" than men.

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Whenever possible, smooth young tree trunks, no more than eight to ten centimeters thick, are chosen. A piece is cut out

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Fig. 158. Beaters for Bark Cloth.
(a) of wood, (b) and (c) of elephant's rib,
(d) from an elephant's tooth.

of the trunk and left lying in the open for half a day or a whole day. Then it is scorched evenly over a small fire, whereupon the outer bark is removed by scraping until the bast layer is completely exposed. Then this layer is cut up lengthwise, loosened by tapping it with the beater, and taken off with the fingers or by means of a stick pushed under it. The bast layer thus taken off is then pounded on some kind of support, for instance, on a tree trunk or a wooden drum. The pounding is

114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

●245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

49 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

erosion and preserve the fertility of the soil. At present it would be a definite exaggeration to speak of an enclosure system, as may be done about the Bamiléké in the western Cameroons. Did such a system ever exist in Pahouin country, and are the humble hedges sometimes to be found encircling villages or plantations traces of it? However that may be, the practice could be very beneficial, and its development is much to be desired.

The raising of animals is now on the decline, especially in villages removed from the main roads. Are sacrifices requiring goats and hens passing into disuse? /31/ Have vehicular traffic and the number of fowls run over prevented the renewal of the leasing out of domestic animals /?/ /cheptel/. These various causes may have been simultaneously at work, but the reason most often given is the development of cacao plantations. Without fences, the raising of goats and the planting of cacao trees are incompatible. To protect their plantations or to avoid endless quarrels, owners of herds have had to limit their undertakings.

Modern agriculture

Cacao is indeed the symbol and the essential component of a modern economy. From this crop and from the agricultural, juridical, and economic practices which it entails, a thousand improvements or seeds of progress appear throughout the society.

It would, however, be unfair not to mention the other economic activities of the Pahouin districts, although their influence and financial return are far behind that of cacao. Timber, though its importance has decreased, played an essential role a few decades ago. African entrepreneurs are rare in this industry where equipment is complicated and expensive. A fairly large tonnage of palmetto is sold when the market is good, although the best soil and climate for palms is not to be found here (1).

1. The Pahouin of the southern Cameroons, the Boulou and Ntoumou particularly, dislike climbing trees and often sell the bunches of dates to Mekaf on the tree. (P. A.)

But cacao remains the master crop. Its cultivation has become a part of the mores and has left its mark on psychological patterns.

215 Planters boast of the number of their trees. Does this transformation go deep? Balandier thinks not: "Present-day interest in cacao growing ought not to mislead us—the Fang is not by nature a farmer; he raises cacao insofar as it brings in money and commodities." (2)

2. Balandier and Pauvert, Villages gabonais /Gabonese Villages/, I.E.C.A. /Institut d'Etudes centrafricaines/, Brazzaville, 1952.

Within the last forty years millions of trees have been planted. A few figures will go to show the extent of this activity: in Boulou country there is an average of 1, 500 cacao trees per able-bodied man at Eholowa, 1, 100 at Sangmélima, 950 at Djoum. In Beti country, the plantations are not so large, either because the soil was less fertile or because the population density did not allow as much land to be withdrawn from subsistence crops. Nevertheless, there are 413 trees per able-bodied man for the whole Yaoundé region. Distribution by subdivision is of some interest because it makes it possible to understand how far cacao trees have extended. The M'Balmayo subdivision comes first with 743 trees per man; then Djongolo with 655; Etoe, 415; Akonolinga, 401; Saa, 378; Mfou, 347; Okola, 277. The Nanga-Eboko figure does not warrant consideration, the subdivision being in part in an unfavorable climatic area. /32/ Eholowa is clearly the center of diffusion, and the contagion of example explains perfectly well the gradually decreasing density of the plantations. At Yaoundé or Akonolinga, plantations are fewer because the custom of planting is more recent. But the low figures for Saa or Okola are probably to be explained by the difficulty of finding empty land in areas where the density of population may reach 100 persons per square kilometer. On the other hand, extreme sparsity of population becomes an unfavorable factor. Djoum with 0.8 persons per square kilometer is less abundantly planted than are Sangmélima or Eholowa with 8 to 10 persons.

In measuring the importance of the cacao trees to the local economy, the distribution-per-man figures will give no indication of the distribution of the ownership of trees or of wealth. The entire production is in African hands. Everyone considers it a point of honor to own a plantation. Townsmen, officials, or /salaried/ employees, whose

6:Alexandre and Binet--39 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

occupations keep them away from their native villages, try to build up plantations, even though they may draw no profits before their retirement. Among Boulou or Beti every married man is a cacao planter. In the course of a sample survey of 490 rural families, only 43 (less than 9 percent) were found who do not have some income from a cacao plantation (1): 7 live from the sale of different agri-

1. J. Binet, Budgets familiaux des planteurs de cacao au Cameroun /Family Budgets of Cacao Planters in the Cameroons/, O.R.S.T.O.M. /Office de la Recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer/.

cultural products; 15 are engaged in crafts; 9 are salaried workers, employed in trade, missions, the administration. For the 437 other families cacao is a basic resource.

The large number of proprietors is accompanied by a wide distribution of wealth and by a certain amount of social equality (2).

2. Sautter, "Le cacao dans l'économie rurale du Woleu-Ntem /Cacao in the Rural Economy of the Woleu-N'Tem/," Études centrafricaines, 1951.

Nevertheless, financial differences are clearly marked. To take only cash income and to disregard home consumption, 28 households had available an average of 3,720 francs C.F.A. per annum (3).

3. One franc C.F.A. equals two metropolitan francs. Incomes were computed in 1954, a year during which quotations for cacao were especially favorable.

113 households had 10,000 francs C.F.A., 217 had 29,600 francs, 87 had 71,500 francs, 36 had 152,000 francs, 5 had 440,000 francs. Large incomes coincide with enormous plantations, but also with profits from a variety of sources: of the 5 families with the highest income, only 2 derive theirs entirely from cultivation. Of the 36 in the next lower category, 24 have a purely agricultural income. The

245 [511 55L] distribution of cacao plantations is neither the only nor perhaps the principal cause of inequality. Cacao production is on a considerable scale: around 50, 000 tons in the Cameroons, 3, 000 tons in Gabon(4).

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4. Almost the whole of the Gabon output comes from the Woleu-N'Tem region and especially the Ntoumou cantons. (P. A.)

It is easy to understand that this crop is an essential factor in the 182 evolution /sic/ of Pahouin society.

245 In the field of common law, for example, cacao has affected the orientation of land law. By giving each person the possibility of making /33/ private profits, cacao has increased the independence of men and even of women from family authority. Because it allows the accumulation of durable and tranferable goods, cacao has raised, in a new form, the problem of successional devolution /inheritance/.

To consider only the realm of technology: settling on the land during several generations has apparently put an end to real nomadism; villages are no longer moved about. But a certain amount of shifting cultivation will remain inevitable if some method of rapid reclamation of fallow land is not adopted.

245 The stock of tools has increased considerably. An axe with a small, 412 narrow head ending in a tongue was fastened into the large end of a wooden handle, a daba similarly made but with a rounder head and lighter handle (1) and a machete were formerly the basic implements.

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1. The tongue of the hoe, driven into a branch like a spike, is also bound to it with liana. Old women still use the digging stick, which has or had some ritual significance. (P. A.)

To these must now be added pruning shears, caterpillar destroyer or a local copy, and cacao spear.

245 Boxes or baskets provide vats for fermenting the /cacao/ beans, a roof shades the trays on which they are put to dry. Some men have thought of buying Vermorel vaporizers for spraying the cacao trees; others dream of mowing machines for clearing the land.